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# The Madras Review

Edited by Dr. T. C. K. KURUP. (Bar-at-Law)

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## A PRAYER FOR MALABAR

(TO SREE KRISHNA)

When Virtue is fallen and Vice prevails,
My King, you have promised to come to our aid;
Now my land is aflood with the woe-striken wails
Of the poor and the suffering in perils deep-laid.

Though we offered our love, and their love we adored,
They have slaughtered our brothers for what we know not;
Their Faith is now Hate, and their God is their Sword,
And lust for our blood is the creed they are taught.

Buried deep in their woes when the Pandavas stood
In stygian fears and their hopes all dead,
O Thine was the Love that gave them the Good,
And Thine were the Hands by which they were led.

To-day even so let my country be saved
From the hands of the plundering Vandals fierce;
And the empyrean paths of Thy Dharma be paved
With the pearls of our prayers, and washed by our tears.

O Come to us King of all kings of the world
When my land is aflood with the innocent's blood
O Come when our hearts are in prayers unfurled
O Come and then save the pure and the good.

P. N. K.

## NOTES

In her recent speech at Bombay, Mrs. Besant was extravagant in her praise of Mr. Sastri for advancing India's claims at the Imperial Conference. We do not wish to be unfair to Mr. Sastri, who is an able man and has succeeded in life far beyond the expectations of his friends. It is doubtful if those who untiringly advertise his achievements realise that if India carries on negotiations with South Africa, it will be official India that will do it, not popular India. But if India had also Colonial self-Government, there would be meaning for the claim advanced on behalf of Mr. Sastri that he gained a point for us at the Imperial Conference

* * * *

We accord a hearty welcome to H. R. H. The Prince of Wales who will be visiting us shortly. It is ill-natured to oppose or boycott the visit. Any opposition argues only a debased mind. We Indians are large-hearted and if there are some black sheep among us, it is only what is found in every fold. Indians as a race, are, by nature and tradition, loyal and love their King, and our readers may take it from us that even under orders from Mahatma Gandhi, India is not going to change, at any rate, in her habitual courtesy, hospitality, and love towards Royalty.

* * * *

It looks as if the trouble in the mill area is not going to end. Not a day passes without murder and arson being reported from there. It is not our province to investigate the cause and apportion blame. Whatever be the cause, whoever be in the aggressive, it is time that Government took measures to put an end to these atrocities. Peaceful citizens are getting panicky. Confabulations of the Labour Commissioner and his trusted assistant with others, sporadic shooting by the police, half-baked memorials to the Government and petulant replies thereto, besides verbal juggleries on both sides, would not avail. Strong action is now called for, the guilty ought to be brought to book and the disturbance quelled.

* * * *

We have seen a copy of a memorial to Lord Willingdon signed by Sir P. Theagaroya Chetti, Messrs. Thanicachellam Chetti, Md. Oosman, S. V. Ramaswami Mudaliar, C. Natesan and V. Shunmuga Mudaliar, in which they discuss the present labour situation in Madras, and suggest the following remedies. They are that free feeding at camps should be stopped, that Inspector Hankinson and Mr. Sundaracharlu should be transferred, that a considerable section of the local police should be replaced, that a Proclamation should be issued announcing that wrong doers of all classes will be severely punished, that the Adi-Dravidas should not be kept together in one camp, but distributed over half-a-dozen centres outside Madras and that the services of Swami Desikananda as superintendent over Adi-Dravidas in camps should be dispensed with. The final solution to all these troubles, they conclude, is to influence the Mill authorities to take back the large number of Mill labourers now without employment. The Government have since issued a Press Communique in which they answer all the points *seriatim*.

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The *Statesman* of the 4th instant observes that the average annual cost of the policemen in India is only £35 per man including officers, "which means that the cost of police protection is something like 7 pence per head of the population" and "while extremely efficient in proportion to the money spent upon it does not attain the level of the corresponding force in England". The report of the Central Bureau of Information of the Government of India says 'public opinion still tends to look upon the policemen as the symbol of oppression and restraint" and admits that there still exists "a small but steadily decreasing amount of corruption among low paid subordinates, who are exposed to temptation of every kind". We are aware of numerous petitions from helpless Hindu and other citizens to the police and the Magistracy as early as six and eight months before the Moplah outbreak complaining of oppression and atrocities, which were dismissed either summarily or after some sort of a show of inquiry. So far as the citizens are concerned they now know from the above that their collective loss is only seven pence per head. It is a pity that statistics are not available indicating individual police gain admitted in the official record.

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Mahatma Gandhi pronouncing judgment on the Moplahs said that they had gone mad. He is now expending his surplus energies in Calcutta while his disciples in Ernad and elsewhere are getting their baptism of fire and jail. This is his contribution to the "progress of Malabar". Hope other districts will fare better.

* * * *

The demand of the Andhras for a separate Andhra University is legitimate. Mr. Patro's difficulties as to finance, jurisdiction, location, etc., are more imaginary than real. How he arrives at his figure of 25 lakhs before a University can be started, he does not tell us. We can assure him that if he acquaints himself with a little more about Universities and the methods of raising them he will come to revise his estimates. In this connection we will commend to the public Mr. C. Natesa Mudalyar's advocacy for a Kumbhakonam University. All honour to every one standing up for his own ideals. We are sure there will be many in Madras to take even post graduate degrees in the new University of Mr. Mudalyar's choice.

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Much misconception evidently exists in the minds of the Madras Ministers as to their function. Their estimate of themselves would appear to be that they are so many brown bureaucrats invested with all the privileges of the Members of the Executive Council, drawing the same salary and travelling by the same kind of saloon carriages and in addition can receive addresses and enjoy public hos-

pitality forbidden to Executive Council Members. Their attitude towards the Moplah riots and the Madras Mill strike cannot be styled deplorable, being invisible. In public estimation they have abdicated their function. In ours they never entered upon it. Till now their chief occupation would appear to have been regularly drawing extravagant salaries and seeking public admiration. When is this going to change?

* * * *

The Madras University, as at present constituted, appears to be a crude mixture of Oxford or Cambridge with London. Residence and personal tuition are obtained in the former whereas in London a man takes his degree on passing his examination irrespective of his place of residence or method of study. In Madras a candidate has to complete his course in a college before sitting for examination. Of a good many of the colleges affiliated to this University the less said the better. In institutions like the Madras Law College it is well known that attedance often goes by proxy. The roll of students is always big while the classes are almost half empty. There is nothing surprising in this. With a staff mostly composed of seventh rate lawyers and tenth rate speakers a student may be pardoned if he attends college only to qualify himself for examination and turns to the solitude of his own room for study. It is strange, yet a fact, that mediocrities always attract and retain mediocrities. Since Mr. Davies became Principal the College deteriorated to a degree hardly realised by the public. As a source of income the institution is an unqualified success, but in imparting knowledge it is far below expectation. Why not then make it possible for students to sit for law and other examinations without compelling them to go through a formality now generally observed in the Madras Law College and elsewhere?

## A "SATANIC" GOVERNMENT.

Nothing escaped Indian lips so frequently during the past year as the word "Satanic". This epithet attracted public notice just as much for its authorship as for the object of its application. Mahatma Gandhi's name clothed with sanctity even the appellation "Satanic", and the British Government's association supplied that element of excitement which alone renders anything truly popular. From the editors of daily newspapers with extensive circulation to the boys in elementary schools it became a password that could open any door to popular favour. No editor and no public speaker felt his position safe unless he repeated this magic word at least once a week. All institutions of any sort flourishing under the "Satanic" Government that became their pet aversion were condemned wholesale in unmistakable terms and in no uncertain manner. Mahatma Gandhi preached that even anarchy is better than the existing order. Curiously enough, while he promised us complete Swaraj within twleve months from last September we have got a double dose of anarchy instead. Malabar has always been slow to move, but once the march is begun her strides are sure to be long and rapid. That was the case with the N-C-O. Movement which brought in its train the Mopila riots and the attendant looting, forcible conversion, incendiarism and murder.

Any one with an unbiassed mind must concede that Mahatma Gandhi is a great man in every sense of the term. His long and unbroken record of selfless work in the cause of the poor and the weak, his infinite capacity for showing the unsmitten cheek to the smiter, his readiness to forgive a wrong, personal or national, his immense love for the Motherland, his high sense of duty, perfect rectitude and many other qualities not often possessed by ordinary mortals put him on a level with Kabir and Chaitanya, Nanakshah and Ramanuja and transcending higher, place him on a pedestal with Buddha and Christ. The history of mankind is the endless story of our mistakes. Even Mahatma Gandhi is not free from this human element. Out of the fullness of his heart he led a campaign against the Boers in South Africa and encouraged by its success he took on hand the mightier problem in India. He soon discovered his mistake in inaugurating Satyagraha, the final outcome of which was the Punjab

tragedy, still sore in peoples' minds. He then forged ahead with his non-violent Non-co-operation scheme and after the incidents that led to the arrest of Messrs. Yakub Hasan & Co. and the consequent excitement in Malabar congratulated the Mopilas on their admirable self-restraint. Judging from antecedents and their present attitude the behaviour of the seventy thousand Mopilas and more then gathered at Calicut was truly admirable. The excitement that followed the arrest was unparalelled in the history of this country. There were at the time men who maintained that fear of the British soldier and his Lewis guns contributed to keep the Mopila peaceful and orderly. But any one who knew the race could say that fear was almost the last emotion that ever went to make Mopila hearts beat faster by even two strokes an hour. Fortunately at that time better counsel prevailed. Mahatma Gandhi's message pacified them. But in the present instance it would appear from public reports that the Mopilas feared a violation of their mosque and in consequence opposed lawful authority by violence, armed and otherwise. Mahatma Gandhi has been blamed for prasing the Mopilas for their self-restraint and traced the present calamity to that source. This is obviously unfair. If his words had any effect and coming as they did from Mahatma Gandhi they strengthened the Mopilas' transitory faith in non-violence rather than incited him to force. To argue otherwise is to display a perverse mentality that delights in depriving words of their meaning. The truth of the matter is that Mahatma Gandhi lives in a tiny little Utopia the population of which at the last census numbered exactly one, though strenuous efforts were made to colonise it on a large scale. The Mahatma's real mistake was in attempting to cure all political ailments by the aid of the contents of a chest stocked with but one patent medicine widely advertised as a panacea for all ills and vigorously drugging every one indiscriminately with that. Non-co-operation, even of the non-violent variety, may be entirely out of place in many instances. To an inflammable, ignorant, fanatical race it is out and out the wrong remedy. One can sooner imagine a scorpion without sting, a buffalo without horns, a bird without wings than an Ernad Mopila without violence. If in addition to his inherited ignorance of centuries, religious fanaticism, political and agrarian discontent he gets a good grinding in Khilafat wrongs and in addition is shown the prospect of retaining his lands free from rents and taxes he does not ask for any further incentive to action. Actual experience has taught that the smallest cause could set the whole place ablaze and once the pace is set the march is fast and forced, covering the whole area before stopping.

No one can deny that from the patriotic Indian's point of view an honest Non-co-operator's intention at heart is none but the best. A cynic said that Hell, for the matter of that, is paved with good intentions Unfortunately in this matter—of—fact world we can only judge human actions by their results and not by the motives behind. In the words of Lord Holt of the English Bench, the thought of man is not triable, for not even the devil knows what man thinks. Judging by results the Ernad Mopila who is up in arms against our "Satanic" government seeks to usher in a new and altered government. The reverse of a "Satanic government" must be an Angelic one. The Ernad type may be only one variety of it and there may be others. As it is between the old "Satanic" and the new Angelic governments we vote for the former, though we may in time be accustomed to a less exciting variety of the latter, minus, of course, looting, arson, forcible conversion and compulsary non-co-operation between head and neck.

Meanwhile, will Mahatma Gandhi kindly note that as in the case of Satyagraha his non-violent-Non-co-operation is also a failure? There is no short cut to independence. All nations have to pass along the well-trodden path leading to education, culture and enlighment. Intellectual independence, moral courage, physical strength and material prosperity must be gained before political independence is achieved All this is a matter of Evolution which is healthy and lasting. All else is Revolution, at best risky, often delusive and abortive. Hot-house culture in nation building will never succeed, least of all on the dimensions of India. An appeal to enlightened self-interest will produce excellent results. An appeal to passions may end in chaos. To make India self-contained in food and clothing is the noblest ideal conceivable; but to impose the burden of government—warding off invasion from out-

# THE MADRAS REVIEW

**11th September 1921**

## THE VICEROY'S SPEECH.

His Excellency Lord Reading's first address to the Indian Legislature was comprehensive, and statesmanlike and though devoid of any dazzling announcement or striking change of policy, its tone was sympathetic and manner lofty. Touching on all the burning topics of the day, His Excellency first referred to the impending visit of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales and pointed out that the Heir to the Throne comes to India not as the representative of any Government nor to promote the interests of any political party. Lord Reading considered the acceptance of Sir Thomas Holland's resignation as inevitable owing to the violation of fundamental principles of administration and justice. In external affairs, the Viceroy hoped that before long a new and abiding Treaty of friendship with Afghanistan will be concluded. His lordship's reference to the N. W. Frontier problem is encouraging and expressed a fervent hope that a Treaty of Peace may soon be concluded on terms reasonably satisfactory to Turkey and also to Muslim Indian opinion. The Viceroy announced the *personnal* of the national group for India. whose duties will be to nominate persons from whom the Indian Judge of the Court of International justice under the League of Nations will ultimately be elected. Referring to the Imperial Conference, Lord Reading thanked the representatives of India for their labours and assured the people that he will strive his utmost to satisfy Indian sentiment which has been outraged by the recalcitrant attitude of the South African representative. This part of the speech was unexceptionable and will be hailed with pleasure by all and earn the support of every rightminded person.

The rest of the speech deals with the internal conditions, due prominence being, of course, given to the Mopla rebellion. The Viceroy gave a picture of the horrors that followed in the wake of the Mopla's revolt and condemned those who were responsible for causing this outbreak of violence and crime. They must, he rightly said, be made to suffer the punishment of the guilty. The Viceroy's stern warning to those who wildy talk of a general policy of civil disobedience of law is coupled with the emphatic assurance that the Government will do everything in their power to protect the lives and properties of all law-abiding citizens. We have no desire to be carping but it must be said that they locked the stable after the steed was stolen. An attitude of firmness towards the agitators at the very outset, instead of the policy of masterly inactivity, would have saved many innocent lives in Malabar. We hope that in any action the Government may take they will clearly make the distinction between the instigators and their dupes. We hope also that they will have the courage to take action against the big guns who led the mischief and not merely suppress the smaller fry.

We welcome the news that the Press Act and some other repressive laws will be repealed as also the proposal to establish a military college at Dehra Dun. We are not so optimistic as the Viceroy with regard to the financial condition of India. The appointment of the Fiscal commission, the proposal to modify the Indian Factories Act, and promises of industrial development are all satisfactory. We only hope that these promises will ere long be fulfilled. The Viceroy's appeal to the leaders of the people to go forth among them and preach to them their duties and responsibilities will find a responsive echo in every Indian wishing for the peaceful and constitutional progress of this great land.

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*Continued from page—4*

side and maintaining law and order at home —on shoulders too young and slender will amount to an act of cruelty. To treat the Ernad Mopila with any dose of the N.—C—O. mixture was indeed cruel, while diluting it with non-violence could not make any the less so.

Discontent was sown deep in the Mopila's heart. It germinated in riots and murder. The government treated it as a rebellion. Martial law is proclaimed and enforced in Malabar. Mopilas are paying the penalty with their lives. Where are their advisers now? Perhaps doing public work elsewhere!

The other inhabitants of Malabar are absolutely helpless and are obliged to turn to the "Satanic" government for assistance after learning by heart their first lesson in non-violent non-co-operation.

*From an esteemed correspondent.*

*The Editor does not necessarily endorse the views of his Correspondents.*

## OUR MAN OF THE WEEK.

Rao Bahadur Annamalai Chettiar :
A Daniel come to judgment.

(SUB ROSA)

In the course of the discussion on the motion by a non-Madrasee member for adjournment of the Council of State to consider the Mopla riots, this weighty member delivered himself of his well considered judgment. He followed close upon the heels of Sir William Vincent as became his position as Member for the Southern Presidency and oracularly proclaimed that he was concerned with the disastrous effects of the rebellion. Like many members of his Council and other such bodies who generally talk about things of which they know nothing or next to nothing, he described (read out, for choice.) in glowing terms the atrocities committed by the Moplas. Our Member's information was second or third hand and percolated through many filters but all the better for this numerous filteration, having considerably improved and clarified in the process To Mr. Chettiar "when once the blood of the Moplas is up there was no knowing what it would lead to". Our Member could have learned from any student of anatomy that it would go to the Moplas' heads and from there after some perambulations through brain tissues and nerve cells, that in some people get worn out by use, in others rot for want of use and in rare instances by misuse, will get back to a central organ called the heart that, unlike the Council of State, does some useful work for the larger physical body. It was a matter of regret to our great Member that responsible Muhammadans had not condemned the Mopla outrage. If he cared to emerge out of his counting house and the salubrious atmosphere of ledgers and account books that speak of high interest, enormous profits, soaring rents and prices, he may possibly have heard a faint cry in the distance that has now escaped his attention. He further asks "whether such acts as had been committed on Hindus and non-Muslims were calculated to secure Hindu-Muslim unity which they all had so much at heart". One would have thought that forcible conversion of one race by another with all its attendant ceremonies was the most effective mode of securing unity between the races. If Mr. Annamalai Chetti has any doubt on the point he may put himself under Mopla tution for a time and learn by experience.

The greatest contribution by this great thinker to the limited store of human knowledge is that "if the outbreak had been nipped in the bud all later development of a serious nature would not have taken place". To the dull common mind of the average man from a thing that was nipped in the bud all later development of any kind, serious or otherwise, would have stopped. It requires a fertile, yet subtle, brain to qualify and limit the later developments as those of a non-serious nature. The sublimity of this great contribution to the thoughts of the world is almost on a par with Goldsmith's Elegy on the Death of Madame Blaize where he said

"Had she lived a twelve month more
She would not have died today".

The Government is charged with being slow to move in the beginning. It is our regret that the Government was not slower to move, even that all moves had been postponed till they had sufficient men and munitions to quell a rising that could have been expected from Ernad Moplas. But it is no good saying that now, since the matter has become res judicata after Daniel's judgment. Government is asked to take sufficient steps to restore peace and safety to enable those who have gone out of Malabar to return to their homes. As for those who had fled from Malabar for fear of the Moplas we have hitherto heard only of one, viz., the well-known vakil of Perintalmanna of Government Communique fame, though he carefully announced to the world afterwards that he was a friend of the Moplas. For the others who have gone out of Malabar, they are out to make money though not in the Marwadi or Nattukottai fashion, and the continuance of their stay is in no way dependant either on Government action or Mopla rising, but on the amount of hard cash earned by the sweat of their brow.

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**A prize of Rs 25, another of Rs. 15 and a third of Rs. 10 will be given to the best character sketche of any living personality not exceeding thousand five hundred words. The entries will be closed on the 15th of October 1921.**

Our Chettiar's recommendation to recover from the Moplas "full cost of obstruction and compensate those who have suffered" is indeed the safest advice born of Nattukottai instinct. While arson, murder and forcible conversion are the order of the day in Malabar our illustrious representative in the Council advises Government to recover money from the Moplas. This reminds us of a Jew who, discovering the obnoxious attentions paid to his daughter by a young Christian threatened to shoot the suitor. As threats proved ineffective, he purchased a fine new revolver and levelled it against the young man's head when caught next in the act of making love to the daughter. Realising the danger but nothing daunted the boy exclaimed "Halloa old man! what a beauty! What did you pay for that? Where can I get one like it? "This melted the old Jew so much that he was on the point of tears and hugging the boy said, "Forgive me my boy. Forgive me. How dreadful that I ever thought of killing one who could do business with me", and in the hope of ultimately selling the weapon to the boy the Jew forgot the insult to his daughter.

Our Danial forgets the forcible conversion, arson and murder in the ultimate hope of the Muhammadan community supporting in unambiguous and unequivocal terms any action to give relief to the victims. This is all that Danial found it necessary to mention in his great judgment which will, I am sure, in time to come be accepted as a store-house of wisdom and occupy the same high position as Goldsmith's Elegy on Madam Blaize.

## THE TWO VOICES.

Among the personalities in India, none are so much in the limelight as Tagore and Gandhi. Both have had their early training in the West and both may be said to have assimilated the best that is in eastern culture. Gandhi is a great humanitarian whose moral fervour appears inexhaustible while Tagore is a great poet whose philosophy and mysticism continue to win the admiration of many of the greatest minds of both the East and the West. When two such people's heroes give expression to divergent ideals, it is very difficult for smaller folk to choose the right one. For the past two years, Gandhi has been preaching, with much persistency and force, the ideal of the isolation of India from Europe, which practically means from the rest of the world. But here is Tagore, fresh from his experience of the European countries, advising his countrymen, in a series of remarkable lectures in Calcutta, that India cannot thus remain isolated and appealing to them for a closer union of the East and the West. Out of these two voices, which shall India follow?

The experiences of these two men were not similar and this fact may perhaps account for the conflict in their ideals. Gandhi stayed in South Africa for nearly 20 years and during all this time, he was fighting against the South African Government for justice to his countrymen there. He had comparatively greater occasions in life to come across the faults of the whitemen than he had of knowing their virtues. As he himself had fallen a prey more than once, to the unjust actions of the whites, he speaks with poignancy of the character of the white people. When he came to India in 1915, the agitation against the Government was raging strong. Gandhi was watching and waiting but there can be no doubt that the problem in India appeared to him as the problem in South Africa, only the scene was laid in a different place. If Gandhi, in spite of his experiences in life, could still speak of the white people with respect, it only reveals his innate good nature. Tagore, on the contrary, had a different experience. The first time his works were made known in Europe, his genius was recognised. The winning of the Nobel prize brought him numerous European admirers. The warmth of the reception accorded to him everywhere during his recent tour must have served to soften the bitterness which he showed against the white people during the days of the Punjab tragedy. This different experience must have been responsible for the ideal of unity which he puts forth before the nation.

We may say that, any day, the ideal of unity is a loftier and more ennobling ideal than the ideal of separateness. Western education and Western contact have done great good to India. They have broadened our outlook and widened our intellect. They have served to lessen the endless jealousies and rivalries of caste and custom. Scientific and technological knowledge which was implanted in India by the West, has opened a vista of great possibilities for the future. We are living in a scientific age, when steam and electricity, workshops and naval docks count much more than soul force, passive resistance, and all the rest of it. India cannot remain isolated from the rest of the world even if she

wished to. The East has learnt much from the West and the West must learn much from the East and the two nations must commingle.

It might be said that Gandhi preaches the doctrine of separation as a political move and after India gains what she wants, he will preach co-operation. This is illogical. Gandhi is not a believer in the theory that the end justifies the means. Further if the people of India are day by day taught to think that their culture and civilisation are superior to everything else in the world, they cannot develop that critical mind and that patient humility which are necessary for a right understanding and the proper assimulation of the good things in the West. Negative doctrines produce only negative results. India has yet to learn many lessons from the West. That thirst for scientific knowledge, that keen sense of duty, that chivalry towards an opponent, that readiness for sacrifice and that tenacity of purpose are some of the characteristics which we must learn from the English people. Between the two voices, the voice of the Poet viz the voice which pleads for co-operation between the East and the West is the one which must prevail

V—N


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